

## Message Text

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ACTION SAB-01

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GOVERNOR PANCANAL

C O N F I D E N T I A L PANAMA 6113

LIMDIS

FOR AMBASSADOR BUNKER FROM BELL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PN, PFOR

SUBJECT: U.S.-PANAMA TREATY NEGOTIATIONS: CONVERSATION WITH  
TORRIJOS ON UNILATERAL ACTIONS.

I.

A. THIS IS MESSAGE NO. 4 FROM THE NEGOTIATORS APPLICABLE TO  
THE SEPTEMBER 1975 NEGOTIATING ROUND.

II.

A. AT HIS INVITATION TORRIJOS AND I TALKED FOR THREE HOURS  
AT DINNER ON CONTADORA OCTOBER 4.

B. HE WANTS THERE TO BE NO DOUBT IN THE MINDS OF SENIOR  
UNITED STATES OFFICIALS THAT UNILATERAL ACTIONS ARE IMPERATIVE.

C. THEY SHOULD BEGIN NOW. THEY SHOULD BE STAGED OVER THE  
NEGOTIATING PROCESS. THEY SHOULD BE A MIX OF SYMBOL AND SUB-  
STANCE, IN BOTH MILITARY AND NONMILITARY AREAS.

D. HE KNOWS THESE ACTIONS ARE NOT EASY FOR US--  
THAT THERE ARE IMPEDIMENTS IN LAW, TRADITION, AND THE CONGRESS.  
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HE KNOWS, TOO, THAT WE ARE TRYING.

E. "WHY NOT BEGIN IMPLEMENTING CLEMENTS' WORDS TO THE BOSTON NEWSPAPER...BEGIN REDUCING THE TROOP STRENGTH NOW?" HE ASKED. "WHAT ABOUT THE BALBOA DRY DOCKS, THE RODMAN PIERS, NEW FRANCE FIELD, REDUCING SOUTHCOM?"

F. THERE ARE OTHER MINOR ACTIONS, HE EXPLAINED, WHICH GABRIEL LEWIS--"MY MAN" FOR EVERYTHING HAVING TO DO WITH THE ZONE--HAD SUGGESTED, APPARENTLY TO NO AVAIL (AN IRHE POWER LINE, A CHRISTIAN BROTHERS SCHOOL IN THE ZONE). IN FACT HE HAD SOME IMPRESSION THAT ZONE AUTHORITIES WERE LEAVING COUNSELOR LEWIS WITH A TITLE BUT NO FUNCTIONS.

G. I REPLIED THAT WE VERY WELL UNDERSTAND HIS NEEDS AND ARE MOVING TO BE HELPFUL BUT ADDED THAT, WHILE ON THE SUBJECT OF NEEDS, WE HAVE SOME TOO.

H. ONE IS TO REDUCE TENSION IN THE CANAL ZONE. WOULD HE MAKE A PUBLIC COMMENT TO REASSURE CIVILIAN RESIDENTS THAT PANAMA IS NOT OUT TO DO THEM IN? HE SAID "POSSIBLY", THEN ASKED THAT I WRITE SOME WORDS FOR HIM.

I. A SECOND IS TO BUILD SUPPORT IN THE CONGRESS. WOULD HE START INVITING GROUPS OF SENATE AND HOUSE MEMBERS TO PANAMA DURING RECESSES, FOR ORIENTATION PURPOSES? ANSWER: "YES, WHEN I HAVE A SENSE OF REAL NEGOTIATING PROGRESS AND CAN 'TOUCH' SOME UNILATERAL ACTIONS".

J. A THIRD IS TO PRESERVE CONFIDENTIALITY OF NEGOTIATION. HE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD, BUT THERE COULD NOT BE MUCH OF THAT WITH DAVID BINDER WRITING ALL THE TIME.

K. A FOURTH IS TO BE PROTECTED FROM MOBS WITH ROCKS. HE SAID HE WAS SORRY ABOUT THAT...THINGS HAD GOT OUT OF HAND...AND HE WOULD BRACE THE NATIONAL GUARD. I REMINDED HIM OF HIS TALK WITH CLEMENTS AND BROWN ON THIS SUBJECT.

III.

A. TURNING TO THE NEW UNITED STATES OFFER, HE ASKED IF IT IS CONFIDENTIAL

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AS "TERRIBLE" AS DESCRIBED TO HIM BY HIS PEOPLE. I EXPLAINED HOW IT IS CONCESSIONAL AND THAT IT IS NEGOTIABLE, AND HOPED THAT PANAMA'S COUNTER OFFER COULD HAVE THOSE QUALITIES ALSO.

B. HE CONFIRMED THAT HE WOULD LIKE AGREEMENT "IN PRINCIPLE" TO BE REACHED ON MANY IF NOT ALL OF THE MAJOR NEGOTIATING MATTERS BEFORE JANUARY.

C. HE ASKED WHY THE UNITED STATES IS DEMANDING BASES AND TROOPS IN PANAMA "FOREVER". I SAID THAT WAS NOT TRUE. IF HIS ADVISERS WERE TELLING HIM OUR NEW OFFER INCLUDED SUCH A DEMAND, THEN THAT WAS PROOF OF THE NEED FOR "CLARIFICATION", OR THE NEED FOR SOME FRESH ADVICE. TORRIJOS SAID THE LATTER MAY PROVE TO BE MORE USEFUL.

IV.

A. CONCLUDING, TORRIJOS SAID ONCE AGAIN HE WAS WAITING "ANXIOUSLY" FOR EVIDENCE, THROUGH THE UNITED STATES NEGOTIATORS, THAT CLEMENTS AND BROWN WERE HONORING WHAT HE CONSIDERED TO BE THEIR "PERSONAL PLEDGE" TO HIM ON UNILATERAL ACTIONS.

B. IF AUTHORIZED IN TIME TO ANNOUNCE THE COCO SOLO SEAPLANE RAMPS ITEM, AND ONE OR TWO OTHERS IF AT ALL POSSIBLE, I PLAN TO EXPLOIT THEM--AND TORRIJOS' "ANXIOUSNESS"-- BY ASKING THAT HE INCORPORATE WORDS TRANQUILIZING TO ZONE RESIDENTS IN HIS TRADITIONAL SPEECH OCTOBER 11 ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF HIS REVOLUTION. THERE COULD SCARCELY BE A MORE FITTING VEHICLE NOR, I THINK, MOMENT. IT MAY NOT WORK. OF COURSE.  
GONZALEZ

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